India

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Viceroy's famine telegram of November 12 shows a further decrease of persons in receipt of relief—a decrease from 182,000 to 158,000. But the general report exhibits serious elements:—

Autumn crops have deteriorated and sowings of spring crops retarded for want of rain in part of Bombay, Central Provinces, North-West Provinces, and to more serious extent in Baroda State, in part of Rajputana, Assam, and South Punjab. Test works likely to be opened at Hissar in the Punjab. Prospects of winter rice crops are indifferent in Bengal, especially in Behar. Elsewhere generally prospects are favourable. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 108,000; Bombay Native States, 18,000; Baroda, 29,000; Mysore, 3,000. Total, 158,000.

The deterioration of crops is now admitted to extend over such a wide area that but little comfort can be drawn from favourable prospects "elsewhere." The menace of more famine is evidently pressing more closely. We can only continue to ask what is doing by way of temporary alleviation, and of permanent prevention. We repeat that famine is chronic, and we ask once more, What of the Mansion House Fund? It is time to turn the attention of this country to the deplorable straits of our fellow-subjects in India.

Among the recent signatories of the Indian Famine Union's Memorial are Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich, K.C.I.E., Mr. A. W. Crawley Boevey, Mr. H. G. Keene, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Hastings Duncan, M.P., Mr. T. J. Bennett, Professor A. F. Murison, LL.D., Mr. Vaughan Nash, Mrs. Cobden Unwin, and the President of the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce.

We regret that pressure of other matter has interrupted for a time the reproduction in our columns of Mr. Pennell's reply to his accusers. We note, however, that the "Gazette of India" for October 12 contains some of the papers of the dossier and a promise of more. These papers are introduced by the following note:—

The following papers regarding the removal of Mr. A. P. Pennell from the Indian Civil Service are published for general information.

The Government of India have not received a copy of the rejoinder submitted by Mr. Pennell to the Secretary of State for India. That letter will be published in a Blue-book, which is now under preparation at the India Office.

It seems a pity that, while the Government of India was laudably bent upon adding to the stock of "general information" it could find room only for the attacks upon Mr. Pennell, omitting his reply. But this is an appropriate sequel to the policy of condemning him unheard which has from the first met with such marked favour at the hands of the authorities in India. Fortunately the supply of "general information" to the public is not wholly controlled by the Government. We await the publication of the Blue Book with interest, and we hope that it will be complete and well indexed. It is interesting to note that the next matter in the "Gazette," following the selected Pennell papers, consists of "Rules to regulate the transport and importations of explosives."

Meantime, while the India Office is sub-editing its Blue Book, another set of papers is being or has been compiled. Some of the Indian journals published last summer a letter in which Lord Stanley of Alderley, with his usual public spirit, forwarded to a gentleman in India not named a cheque for £150, of which £100 were to be given to the constable Narsingh Singh, by way of compensation for the ill-usage he suffered at Chupra. The letter added:—

Would you apply the remaining fifty pounds to publishing in a collected form the papers advocating the separation of the Judicial and Executive, commencing with the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose's pamphlets, including the Memorial submitted to the Secretary of State by Lord Hobhouse and others, also including a memorandum of Sir Richard Garth of 1893, and Mr. Romesh Dutt's scheme for the redistribution of officials between the Judicial and Executive, and the later Resolutions passed by the National Congress and Provincial Congress?

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, indefatigable as ever, has had this week three public meetings on Indian questions in Scotland. On Tuesday evening he addressed an important meeting in Edinburgh, and we give on another page a special report of his speech. Last evening (Thursday) he addressed a meeting at Dunfermline, and this evening (Friday) he addresses a meeting in the Town Hall of Galashiels.

Correspondents send us glowing accounts of Mr. J. M. Parikh's recent addresses at Watford Labour Church and at South Place Chapel. Mr. Parikh dealt eloquently and comprehensively with the leading facts of Indian administration and finance, exhibiting the inequitable treatment meted out to India and Indians, and made a deep impression upon his audiences.

The inauguration of the North-West Frontier Province on the birthday of the King and Emperor was the occasion of "a great military display at Peshawar," for the benefit of the chiefs and provincial leaders of the Native border communities, who were present in open darbar. The proclamation was read, and Colonel Deane, the Chief Commissioner, made a firm and conciliatory speech, with a wise exhortation "to avoid all that tended to discord or jealousy." "The feeling among the transfrontier tribes," says the "Times" correspondent at Allahabad (November 12), "is practically NIL, as they are indifferent to administrative changes in the Punjab so long as officers known to them remain in the border districts, which is the case in the present instance." Very likely this is a fairly correct representation. Still, the same correspondent at the same time reports that Colonel Deane specifically referred to "various misgivings felt by some of the chiefs on account of the changes in the administration," which "had already been confided to him." If the chiefs feel anxiety, it seems little use to tell us that the tribes have practically no feeling on the matter. However, we learn that Colonel Deane

said "he wished to set their minds at rest, and, therefore, explained that in most ways the administration would be as it was before"—notwithstanding, we suppose, the awful backslidings of the Punjab Government, when it conducted the administration "as it was before"! The most substantial guarantee of peace lies in the condition and prospects of the Calcutta treasury.

A correspondent of ours complains that we still remain without information as to the definite boundaries of this new Province. Our readers may remember that on June 13 last Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India (INDIA, June 21: vol. xv, p. 299):—

Whether he would lay Papers upon the Table of the House relating to the formation, and future administration, and financial arrangements of the new Indian Frontier Province;

Whether he could arrange for these Papers to include a map showing the exact boundaries of the Province; and

Whether the Papers could be laid upon the Table before the discussion on the Indian Budget takes place this present Session.

Lord George Hamilton replied:—

I will present further Papers to Parliament, and I will also arrange to include a map showing as far as possible the boundaries. But I cannot fix the date for presentation since I have not yet received a reply to my despatch dated December 20, 1900, and when I do receive it the details will require careful consideration by myself in Council.

So we are still waiting for those papers.

We discussed the point on February 22 (INDIA, vol. xv, p. 88). We then quoted the "Times" Calcutta correspondent's statement that "the districts which form the new Province will be Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, with the tribal country beyond their limits, and also the existing political agencies of Dir, Swat, Chitral, the Khaibar, the Kuram, Tochi, and Wana." The vagueness of "the tribal country beyond their limits" seems to defy mapping, and "the political agencies" is sufficiently indefinite. However, we shall be glad to see the official map. Wherever the "statutory" frontier may be there drawn, the plain practical fact is that we have roped in the whole country up to the Durand delimitation posts. The "sphere of influence," in its various degrees, will gradually get materialised; and where are the "independent tribes" then? However, we await the map, and we hope the various "spheres" will be distinctively indicated.

Both Sir Lepel Griffin and Colonel Hanna write upon the late Amir of Afghanistan in the November number of the "Fortnightly Review." Sir Lepel's personal share in negotiations with Abdur Rahman lends interest to the first part of his paper. "The active and cordial alliance of Afghanistan," he says, "can only be assured by the insistence of England on Afghan independence, without reservation, for this is a point on which prince and people are in complete accord." Colonel Hanna gives a luminous review of the career of the late Amir. He says:—

The progress of his people towards civilisation was Abdur Rahman's one object and aim, and if, in seeking to realise it, he struck down the rebellious and lawless without mercy, he never ceased to toil at building up a State in which the peasant, the merchant, and the craftsman could labour in peace and enjoy the fruits of their toil. . . . . At the root of his scheme of government lay the principle of the rigid exclusion of all permanent foreign elements from Afghanistan. . . . . He substituted a firm and honest administration for the spasmodic interference of official authority with individual rapacity and violence; he reformed the law and assured its benefits to the meanest of his subjects; he devised and perfected a military system adapted to the conditions of his country and the genius of its inhabitants; he enriched the coffers of the State without impoverishing either the trader or the agriculturist; he turned his barracks into schools and his prisons into reformatories; in a word, he brought order out of chaos, and by years of fighting won for his people—peace.

It appears, according to a correspondent of the "Times" (November 12), that "the details now to hand of Abdur Rahman's plans to ensure a peaceful succession show them to have been even more far-sighted and complete than has appeared from the telegrams." There is nothing surprising in this; but the facts tend to strengthen the prospects of peace in Afghanistan. Lord Curzon, in deciding to send a deputation to Kabul to take part in the Fatcha ceremony in honour of the late Amir and to congratulate the new Amir on his accession in behalf of the Government of India, has chosen "influential Mahomedan officials" to constitute the mission. We have learnt something, then, since 1878.

In a letter to his wife, dated September 15, 1882, Sir William Hunter states how he fled from the military inanities of Government House, Bombay, to Puna ("Life," p. 317), where he found more congenial society with Sir William Wedderburn:—

There I stayed with William Wedderburn, a brother of Sir David, who is always pleading the cause of the Indian peasants in Parliament. He is an old friend and a true reformer; he has the most generous heart and the finest head in the Bombay service, and, although they hate him accordingly, they have had to give him one of the best appointments in the Presidency. I have persuaded him to take privilege leave and go to Simla, where my rooms at Stirling Castle are empty, and my servants will make him comfortable. I shall write about him to Ilbert, Baring, and Primrose. I expect it will be a case of Pegasus out of harness, for I can hardly imagine Lord Ripon coming into contact with such a man without incorporating him in the great work of reform which he has now in hand.

In a subsequent letter to one of his sons, Sir William Hunter gives a graphic description ("Life," p. 332: April 28, 1884) of an excursion into the depths of the Himalayas with Sir William Wedderburn, who was then visiting Lord Ripon at Simla.

We indicate elsewhere that Mr. Skrine, Sir William Hunter's biographer, is not only ungenerous but unjust to the Indian National Congress. He calls it "that irresponsible body" (p. 406), asserts that "the tactics of the Congress agitation are in part responsible for the widening breach" between Indians and British (p. 417), and actually states that "the Congress has been wrecked by the manœuvres of doctrinaires, who aim at being men of action and are not men of the world." This, too, at a time when the views of the Congress have been more fully accepted by the Government of India than at any preceding period of its existence! We regret to have to call attention to a peculiarly small snub that he attempts to administer to ourselves by the lordly method of ignoring. He prints a nice letter from Mr. Hem Chandra Banerjea in acknowledgment of "a donation sent him by Hunter, who had read his sad story in a Native newspaper." We beg to refer Mr. Skrine to INDIA, vol. xii, p. 160 (September 29, 1899), where he will find a letter from Sir William Hunter, in which he says this:—

I am greatly distressed to read in your issue of this week that the poet Hem Chandra Banerjea is in straitened circumstances. . . . . If you think it suitable to open a subscription for his comfort and relief, I beg you will put me down for one hundred rupees.

Of course, so long as Mr. Hem Chandra Banerjea got the Rs.100, it is of no consequence to us where Sir W. W. Hunter is said to have obtained his information. Only it does seem a matter of some importance that his biographer should raise suspicions of his good faith in higher things by such curious lapses in smaller things. Mr. Skrine's treatment of the Congress contrasts painfully with the honourable and reasoned criticisms of Sir William Hunter.

It might have been thought that the coldness with which the recent Memorial of the "Imperial Anglo-Indian Association," of Calcutta, was received would put an end to all hopes and fears that the Eurasians would receive specially favourable treatment in the matter of public appointments. Nevertheless, a paragraph has been going round the newspapers to the effect that Lord Curzon has sent a private circular to the heads of departments ordering that one-fifth of the vacancies should be reserved for Eurasians and Anglo-Indians. In fact, we find a Eurasian correspondent writing to the "Statesman" to say that all Eurasians and Anglo-Indians should be very thankful for this concession. A similar rumour appearing last year in a Madras paper was officially denied. It is even more difficult to believe that the present rumour is true in view of recent events. But it would be well, all the same, for the Government to deny any intention of inaugurating such a policy of favouritism.

This is all the more necessary as something of the kind has been attempted as lately as the year 1897. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" reproduces a circular letter written in that year by Mr. Cox, the head of the Finance Department. The letter urged the recruiting of young Eurasians and Europeans for the work of the offices which would otherwise become filled with Bengalis. And as these new and superior recruits could not be expected to live on Rs.30 or Rs.40 a month he suggested that they should be offered Rs.60. In other words, young men who could not hold their own in public competitions, and who could enter the service only by special favour, were to be paid an increased salary. The Indians were to be doubly injured. They were to be unfairly handicapped in the public service, and those who were unduly preferred were to receive additional pay from the public treasury.

But in view of Lord Curzon's recent advice to the Eurasians, it is difficult to believe that anything of the kind is now contemplated. Certainly the worst possible way to increase the energy of a race is to give it such special protection as will enable it to obtain what it wants without effort or exertion. The Eurasians complain that the Bengalis outstrip them in education. It is for them to set to work to remedy their defects and to struggle for better education. To withdraw this healthy stimulus is to do no real service to the Eurasian community; while such a course is certain to provoke just resentment in other communities. That competitive examinations are not the only and in many cases not the best means of testing the merit of candidates for official appointments may readily be admitted. But how does it improve matters to substitute the test of race, which in the case of individuals can be no test of merit at all?

And if this is the only sound rule for the Government—to make public appointments without regard to race or creed—there is also a sound rule which may be prescribed for the action of each community—to remember that the prosperity of each is involved in the prosperity of the whole. United, all may live as free men; divided, they will never be that, let statutes and law-books say what they will. Why should the races of India expend their energies in fighting for the crumbs that fall from the European's table? Union is the true policy which Hindus, Mahometans, Eurasians, and Parsees would do well to lay to heart.

This, however, does not mean that the members of each race should not feel pride in its historic traditions and its present services. A healthy rivalry in devotion to the public good may well promote civic virtue. Especially will it happen that each community will feel proud when one of its sons attains a conspicuous position either in war or in peace. It is therefore very natural that a certain thrill of pride should have been experienced by one of our Eurasian fellow-subjects when he made the remarkable discovery that the present Commander-in-Chief of the British Army was a member of his own community. It is with no pleasure that we find ourselves obliged to discredit the story. Far otherwise. Were it true that Indian blood flowed in the veins of Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, there would be some ground for the comparison, so frequent and so false, of the British and the Roman Empires; for it was the glory of Rome that it really incorporated the subject peoples, and threw open to them the highest offices of State—even the Imperial throne itself. But Lord Roberts is not a Eurasian.

Yet the substratum of fact on which this erroneous theory is based may be not without interest to the Indians; for if Lord Roberts is not a Eurasian himself, he had near kindred who belonged to that community, and in whose veins flowed the blood of one of the Native Princes of India. According to a correspondent of the "Statesman," Sir Abraham Roberts, the father of the Commander-in-Chief, married as his first wife a lady of a well-known Eurasian family—the Kennedys—and had several children, two of whom, his half-sisters, Lord Roberts refers to in his "Forty-one Years in India." After the death of his first wife, Sir Abraham married a lady from Tipperary in Ireland, and became the father of the future Field-Marshal.

The Silchar Municipality do not seem to have derived much comfort from Lord Curzon's reply to their dutiful address. While he assured them that "the promise of this year's crop was good," the famine telegram sent over here in his name specifies Assam as one of the places where deterioration of crops from want of rain is most seriously marked. As to enhancement of the land revenue, he anticipated the publication of the Government's policy by telling the Silchar people that he "was convinced that the rates were not immoderate or unreasonable," for are they not lower than in the Assam Valley? The "Times" report does not indicate that he softened the blow by showing that the conditions of the two places correspond with the difference of rates. Further:—

> He pointed out that the Begar, or impressed labour system, only survives where it is justified by the requirements of public service or the paucity of local labour. He was certain that, owing to the increase of daily wages, the system would become reduced, and would eventually cease, owing to the larger labour population.

But why should a system that could be fairly described as one of "impressed labour" ever exist within the limits of British jurisdiction, whatever be "the requirements of public service or the paucity of local labour"? How can it possibly be "justified"—to the British people of all people—by the considerations mentioned?

The Surma Valley Tea Association discreetly disposed of the labour question in "a passing reference." They wanted light railways, and requested the Government to offer "favourable terms with a minimum rate of interest." So they gained the thanks of his Excellency for "their temperate and well-composed address." They were promised "favourable conditions," too, but not a stiver of Government guarantee. There is, indeed, the best reason for leaving on the tea-planters a pressing motive for local exertion in "smaller local enterprises." But at the bottom of the refusal, as well as at the back of the cheerful view of Silchar land revenue rates, lies the compelling argument of a low exchequer, with the incalculable demands of a fresh access of wide-spread famine. The sooner the Government applies itself to fundamental remedies the sooner will it be in a position to foster the industrial development of the country. One looks anxiously for signs of a beginning; for, till a beginning is well made, it is only by accident that the state of things can be prevented from going from bad to worse.

The conviction of the editor of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" has been quashed. Babu Motilal Ghose, it will be remembered, was sentenced by a Divisional Magistrate at Cawnpore to a fine of Rs.1,000 for an alleged defamation on a tea-planter's agent, named Hoff. The defence was that the editor was absent when the words complained of were published. The Sessions Judge has now reversed this judgment. Mr. Hoff's counsel insisted that if the editor's absence was held to be a good defence, libels might be published with impunity; but, as the Judge remarked, the editor's absence would be no defence to a civil action for damages. In the present case the Judge found that the editor was absent, and that he left a competent person in charge, and was not, therefore, criminally liable for what was published in his absence.

Remittances on India for 60 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications for bills amounting to Rs.20,07,80,000 were received at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds and 1s. 4d. The following amounts in bills were allotted, viz.:—Rs.37,06,000 on Calcutta and Rs.6,74,000 on Madras at an average of 1s. 3.969d., and Rs.16,20,000 on Bombay at an average of 1s. 3.977d. Tenders at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds will receive about 2 per cent. Last week remittances for Rs.50,14,930 were sold for £333,773, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs.12,36,88,917, producing £8,217,287. Next week 60 lakhs will again be offered.

SIR W. W. HUNTER. *

WE welcome very cordially Mr. Skrine's ample and effective biography of the late Sir William Hunter. Fortunately, there has been no undue delay in the just commemoration of a most distinguished and many-sided public servant, who has impressed his mark on the relations between England and India as well as upon Indian administration. "The story is indeed," as Mr. Skrine says, "well worth the telling. It is that of one who, without the adventitious aids of birth and fortune, attained the highest eminence in a society which is still dominated by semi-feudal conceptions of caste and privilege. It proves that a man may compass great things in spite of constant ill-health, of poignant sorrows, of the jealousy and intrigues of rivals, and may retain to the end a truly Christian charity—an infinite toleration of the faults and failings of others." Mr. Skrine has had access to all Sir William's more important correspondence, and thus is able to present the situation in Sir William's own words. He has had the Indian experience necessary to bring him into full intelligence of the career of his subject, and his personal knowledge of Sir William has been supplemented and adjusted by the care of Lady Hunter, who, he says, "has been my fellow-worker in the fullest sense of the word." The result is an admirable record of the life of a noble and useful man.

Mr. Skrine thinks that the most salient feature of Sir William's character was "an intense love of the family and the home." This personal aspect is amply illustrated throughout the volume; and the sympathy of his nature is seen to go out on all sides, in the making and keeping of friends, and in his constant regard for the welfare of the Indian people. Hardly inferior to the strength of his private affections was his intense devotion to work. Apart from the many shocks of sorrow and bereavements, he scarcely had a week's unbroken health, and "it is beyond question," in Mr. Skrine's opinion, "that his days were shortened by the excessive strain placed upon a constitution which was never very vigorous." In 1863 he wrote to his future wife: "I have been so busy to-day that I have not been out of my room since 7.30 a.m. It is glorious, the enjoyment of working. I feel as happy after such a day as I do in very jovial company when we have all drunk enough to make us very merry. It is a wild exhilaration, precisely like what wine produces." And a generation later, after he had written a shelf-full of important books, besides a heavy career of administrative labour, he wrote (1894): "We shall be truly delighted to get back to the daily round of books and writing. One very soon begins to feel the worthlessness of a life that yields nothing, and ten days of idle visiting always suffices to produce a sense of meanness in me." It is futile to regret that such severity of application should have cut short his final and most ambitious work. But for this, we should not, probably, have had even the torso.

Between his first competitive examination, in which he passed fifth, and his final, in which he passed first, Hunter wrote to Miss Murray (afterwards Lady Hunter):—

> I cannot afford to waste time. It is easy to be a company-man and yet to be superior to the common run in an intellectual aspect; but it is impossible to be first-class—I mean the very first, one of a set of men picked out from the whole country for their talents. . . . I aspire to a circle far above the circle of fashion—I mean the circle of Power. . . . Some day, dear, if God spare us, we shall enter that circle of Power hand in hand; till then patience, frugality, concentration.

This circle of Power he entered in due time. It is to be noted, however, that he very early put out of his head the idea of mere formal honours, and that he fixed his eyes steadily on the essentials of Power directed to useful ends. We have already, on the occasion of his death, traced the steps of his official ascent and spoken of his fertile literary production, and of his high literary merits. Mr. Skrine indicates factitious difficulties apart from the ordinary obstacles—in his progress. At the very commencement of his Indian work in Lower Bengal, "he encountered jealousies which caused him bitter heart-burning and hampered his whole official career." His championship of the aboriginal races "against the slanderers whose utterances, founded on imperfect knowledge, tended to poison public opinion and warp the generous impulses of the British people" raised a storm that was taken cognisance of by the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir Henry Maine's Minute on the subject concluded with these significant words:—

> We must remember that the personal staff of the Bengal Office has a grudge against Mr. Hunter. Rightly or wrongly some of them think that the author of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," and the "Comparative Dictionary," has been over-praised. I cannot help surmising that in this letter [from the Bengal Government, raising the storm] we have further evidence of the feeling in question.

Hunter was signally vindicated. Once more: "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Skrine, "that, but for Hunter's support of the Indian Congress, he would have been selected to fill one of the three vacancies which fell this year (1888) in the India Council." "It speaks volumes for his public spirit," Mr. Skrine adds, "that he should have continued to support an unpopular side until the vagaries of an extreme section rendered it necessary that he should sever his connexion with the Congress movement." A glimpse of Hunter's tenacity and self-sacrifice may be gained from an account of his difficulties in bringing out the "Comparative Dictionary":—

> Had the State done the work by a Commission, it would have cost many thousands. . . . . Everything I possessed has been expended on the undertaking. . . . . When I learned that no pay would be given, I hesitated for some time, but eventually sold my horse, carriage, and whatever would fetch a price, broke up my establishment, and came to cheap lodgings in this remote part.

And what was his main object in getting out the Dictionary? "Its true value in my eyes," he wrote, "will be the practical aid it will afford to frontier administrations, and the annual saving in blood and money it is capable of effecting," considering that we were constantly quarrelling with the aboriginal races "because we understand neither their habits nor their necessities."

"What pleasure it would give me," wrote Sir William Hunter, in 1863, to Miss Murray (Lady Hunter), "to do justice to this fallen race and to vindicate the conduct of England in her dealings with India!" A difficult aspiration, when two such objects are linked together. Writing to Mr. Rudyard Kipling in 1888, Sir William Hunter incidentally stated his aims as to India, and his successful accomplishment so far:—

> As regards myself, I know what my work in life is, and turn neither to the left nor right for praise or blame. Twenty years ago I saw what that work was—first to enable England to learn India's needs, next to help England to think fairly of India, and finally to make the world feel the beauty and pathos of Indian life. The first I have accomplished, the second I am effecting, and the third I hope also in due time to bring about.

The estimate of accomplishment seems to imply that some general and permanent impression had been made; but, we have only too good reason to know, the estimate is strangely sanguine. Yet Hunter did much. From the first he wrote a great deal for Anglo-Indian journals; he at one time held a fourth share in the "Englishman," with practical control of its policy, and, while he could speak from inner knowledge, he wrote fearlessly, often in a sense little comfortable to the Government; he addressed a remonstrance to Lord Lytton on the Vernacular Press Act; and he "was instrumental in establishing a modus vivendi between the Indian Government and the Press which, with some important modifications, endures at the present day." "He left his mark on the Indian Press," says Mr. Skrine, "and raised it to a distinctly higher plane." Many are the cases where Hunter is represented as suffering for his endeavours to do justice to India. We have already cited two. His lectures at Edinburgh in 1879-80, republished in "England's Work in India," though carefully meting out praise and criticism, also led to his being violently assailed. Again, "throughout the fierce controversy" on the Ilbert Bill, "he stood forth the unfailing champion of a cause which appealed to his heart and reason, in utter disregard of the hostility evoked by his fearless advocacy." He consistently supported Lord Ripon's local self-government policy—indeed, Mr. Skrine thinks this policy was "probably inspired" by Hunter's Edinburgh lectures; and he "organised a movement which defeated a conspiracy among the reactionary party to deprive the Simla municipality of representative institutions." The

* "Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc." By Francis Henry Skrine, F.S.S., late H.M. Indian Civil Service. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans Green, and Co. Price 16s. net.

movement for enlarging the scope of the Indian Legislative Councils was, says Mr. Skrine, "wholly due to his initiative." As to Indians in South Africa, he frequently urged Mr. Chamberlain to favourable action, holding that "Indians should enjoy the full status of British subjects throughout the Empire and its allied States."

It is a pity that Mr. Skrine allows himself to refer to the Congress in slighting terms, which we believe Sir William Hunter would not have approved. Nor, highly as he rated his own influence, would he have made the astounding claim that "the Congress movement owes whatever result it has achieved to Hunter's influence with the British public." Mr. Skrine, on this point, loses grip of his sense of proportion, or he is insufficiently acquainted with the facts. True, in 1890, Hunter wrote to Mr. Malabari:—

> The surest means of gaining our end is to convince Indian legislators and the British public that the modifications we ask for are a natural and inevitable development upon the pre-existing lines of advance. It is by taking up this position that I have forced the Congress movement on the acceptance of thinking Englishmen; and it is by firmly adhering to it that I have saved the Congress movement from the party of extremes within itself, and am now compelling them to retrace their steps.

The language is pretty strong even for 1890, but much has happened since then—much in which Hunter bore no part. But the leaders of the Congress have always cherished the kindliest feelings to Hunter for what he did in the cause, and no doubt they would be the first to admit his severe strictures on leading groups or individuals. But a general depreciation is in no sense warranted. Though we regret this unfortunate element, we repeat our cordial recommendation of the volume, not only for its portraiture of Hunter, but for its sidelights on men and affairs during the period of his great career.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

Two passages only of Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall last Saturday continue to occupy the public mind. People are still commenting on his withdrawal from the untenable position of a year ago when the Prime Minister announced that the Boers were to be left without a shred of independence, and conjecture also is busy with the cryptic declaration that if the country knew all that the Government knows there would be no room for pessimism. As if to lend plausibility to this singular application of the confidence trick Lord Salisbury himself set an example of jauntiness. He was no longer the Hamlet, but the Mark Tapley of politics. It was a lugubrious exhibition. No attempt was made to give it verisimilitude. Ministers were represented as paragons of wisdom, and their policy in South Africa as a miracle of prescience. Every difficulty in the Boer campaign, we were assured, had been foreseen from the outset. The critics of the Government could bring no specific charges; they were only capable of vague vituperation. Soldiers and statesmen had worked hand in hand without a hitch. All in short had been for the best in the most admirably conducted of just and necessary wars.

Despite the indomitable assurance of those assertions, Lord Salisbury's audience behaved like a party of funeral mutes. The Prime Minister's own demeanour indeed belied the optimism of his words. He spoke in a lifeless manner, and though the sentences had none of the accustomed point and polish their laborious delivery suggested that they had first been committed to memory. A settled melancholy pervaded the banqueting hall during the veteran statesman's survey of the future. Possibly an inclination to titter may have been felt when the prophet, drawing inspiration from the triumphs of the past, predicted the dawn of yet more brilliant achievements. The impulse, if it existed, was sternly suppressed. Lord Salisbury sat down leaving his audience gasping but still inflexibly solemn.

Of the two specific points in the speech to which reference has been made, the more important was the emphatic undertaking to confer colonial self-government on our South African territories "as soon as circumstances should permit." The promise marked a great advance on Lord Salisbury's earlier attitude, and though still too vague to form an adequate basis for negotiation seemed to foreshadow a return to common sense on the part of Ministers. But what is to be said of the other passage? Lord Salisbury, if he pleased, could elate us tremendously by explaining the secret of his optimism. The only consideration that restrains him is a sense of duty. Then why did he mention the matter at all? After all, the country has shown itself quite as capable of keeping a steady head amid the vicissitudes of fortune as the members of the present Government. The mystery has naturally excited some little speculation, but not so much as it might have done had the public not been so often deceived by vague assurances that it is now reduced to a mood of sullen scepticism. Lord Salisbury must offer us something less dubious than a pig in a poke.

Ministerialist comments on the Guildhall speech afforded some entertaining reading. They were studiously polite and frigidly loyal. The word had evidently gone forth that it might be dangerous to give unrestrained expression to the feelings of irritation and disappointment universally excited by the Premier's fantastic apologia. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the popularity of the Government has reached a critically low ebb—so low, in truth, that even the most discontented Conservative members are beginning to view the prospect with alarm. The vocal tornado of some weeks ago is now subdued to a sulky murmur, not less significant to those who have ears to hear, but at the same time betokening a sure though reluctant return to the paths of party discipline.

Perhaps the chief reason for this altered demeanour on the part of the candid friends of the Government is to be found in the uncertainty attending Lord Rosebery's plans. As one Conservative paper naively remarks, the ex-Premier's reappearance in the political arena may be an act either of patriotism or of faction, which of course means that Lord Rosebery will be a factionist if he attacks the Government and a patriot if he supports it. The sagacious Mr. Walter Long has arrived at the same conclusion. Liberals are almost as perplexed as the opposite party by their former leader's caprices. The Imperialist group are nervously apprehending a sensational defection, while the main body of the party is betraying its anxiety by organising a closer rally than before to the leadership of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. If he is true to his record Lord Rosebery will probably surprise everybody and please nobody, and then in order to put himself right he may be expected either to pen an exegetical manifesto or to make a second speech in explanation of the obscurities of the first. In this connexion it is interesting to note that there is already some talk of organising a supplementary meeting in Lancashire.

For the first time in sixty-five years a King's Birthday was celebrated in London last Saturday, and on the same day the Duke and Duchess of York made their debut as the Prince and Princess of Wales. This second event had come at too short notice to be recognised in the decorations in honour of the anniversary of the King's birth; otherwise the familiar design of the Prince of Wales' feathers would have played a more conspicuous part in the West-end illuminations. King Edward adheres more closely to the simple regal title than did Queen Victoria, whose signatures in later years betrayed an increasing fondness for the Imperial style. Accordingly, the "V.R.I." of last year's illuminated devices gave place on this occasion to the curt "E.R." which, with a crown above, formed the central design of many hundreds of brilliantly-lighted transparencies. The decorations were on an unusually lavish scale, and so were the crowds that assembled in the streets to admire them.

These minor festivities should probably be regarded as rehearsals for the culminating triumph of the Coronation. It seems certain now that that event is to be made the occasion for an extraordinary reunion of Royal and other distinguished personages in the British capital. Queen Alexandra's family, it is expected, will be represented at the ceremony by her father, the venerable King of Denmark, the Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark, and the King and Queen of Greece. Her Majesty's sister, the Empress Dowager of Russia, has also been invited, but it is doubtful whether that august lady will be able to be present.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE THIRD YEAR OF THE FAMINE.

WANTED: DELEGATES FROM THE FAMINE UNION.

LORD CURZON'S PREMATURE EPITAPH.

"RESPICE FINEM."

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, October 26.

We are at the end of October, but Gujerat and Kathiawar are still without an adequate rainfall. This is the most grievous news that I have to report this week. It was hoped that the parting monsoon might give abundant rain to the two provinces, but that hope has now been shattered. Whatever rain they may have later will not help the people. Nor will it bring more crops. All, therefore, looks dark and dismal. One has not the heart to write on the subject; and the miseries of the poor rayats during the coming eight months are better imagined than described. The melancholy tale of the hardships they have undergone during the last two famines has been eloquently recorded by two Famine Commissions. Never was there more suffering and patient people, and never was their cup of misery more full. Yet when we ask ourselves what the State has done, we cannot but deplore the inadequate assistance rendered. I have not read or heard of the steps the Bombay Government may have taken in anticipation of the coming distress during the third consecutive year of calamity. The mills of our provincial gods seem to grind exceeding slowly, but they grind exceeding ill. Heaven protect the weak and suffering humanity of Gujerat.

But this is an excellent opportunity for some members of the Indian Famine Union to visit some of the worst places in Gujerat. If some could do so just before Christmas time, and then again on their return, say in March, they would be able to compare the condition of the rayats at the two different periods. The visit of Mr. Vaughan Nash did much public good, albeit the Famine Bahadurs were greatly annoyed at such a clever and observant "Chiel" having taken notes and printed them for the world. No doubt they will take precious good care when another like "Chiel" is on the same errand bent. But they cannot conceal the truth. Moreover, why should the officials resent independent enquiry? Should the enquiry verify their statements, so much the better. It would redound to their reputation. They could with courage declare that their famine policy was open to the closest observation on the part of their severest critics, and that they had nothing to be ashamed of. Anyhow, they ought to escape scathing reproaches of the kind that Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues had to pass upon their operations during the last famine. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Indian Famine Union will depute one or two competent members to visit Gujerat and Kathiawar during the ensuing cold season.

The other topic which attracts public attention at present is the rose-coloured review of Lord Curzon's three years' administration which appears in the columns of the "Fortnightly Review." Everywhere it is agreed that the review is premature. It is utterly out of place in the midst of a viceregal career. There are Viceroys and Viceroys. Some have been known to begin their career with a flash and to end it in smoke. Some have been "humdrum mediocrities," while those who have, without ostentation and the brass bands of magazine-writers and daily pressmen, rendered substantial service to the people, are few and far between. Sir John Lawrence was a man of life-long Indian experience. He knew how to navigate the heavily-laden bark of Indian administration. Lord Mayo promised to do exceedingly well, but unfortunately he was cruelly cut off in the midst of a career of solid usefulness. It was Lord Northbrook who first systematised famine relief operations, and by his sympathy evoked that popular response which under the righteous Lord Ripon reached its zenith. No Viceroy, without the public advertising now so much in vogue, rendered greater or more lasting good to the people of the land than he. Hence that unparalleled popularity which greeted him on the eve of his retirement. That was the brightest and purest page in British-Indian history, and the English nation may well be proud of it. What a change there might be in the relations of rulers and ruled could we but secure a succession of Viceroys of the righteousness and deep-abiding sympathy of Lord Ripon. As to Lord Curzon, it is better to pronounce no opinion until he has doffed the Viceregal robes and the official harness. That he has by his personality imparted a certain vitality to the administration goes without saying. His sympathy for the people is sincere. But he has not yet yielded any substantial achievements. Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government, his resolutions on suspension and remissions of revenue, on taccavi advances, on agricultural loans, and so forth rendered no little good to the people. In this sense Lord Curzon is still far behind him, though we know that his sympathy with the Indians has already caused him to be almost hated by some at least of the beneficed bureaucracy. An English passenger of an independent cast of mind who arrived here by the last mail said that the talk of some of the members of the "heaven-born service" on board the vessel had to do with three things—hate of Lord Curzon, hate of the Congress, and contemptuous disregard of the Indians generally. But, all this apart, perhaps the cautious review of Lord Curzon's career so far, as given in the "Times of India," will commend itself to no inconsiderable section of the British people who are neither hysterical nor too cold-blooded. It will afford ample food for thoughtful critics, and should serve as a good and sober counterblast to the inflated eulogium in the "Fortnightly."

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, November 7.—In a despatch from Pretoria Lord Kitchener continued his account of the attack on Colonel Benson's column at Brakenlaagte on October 30. He stated definitely that the Boers removed the two guns when our ambulances were sent out for the wounded, but added that they got nothing else. He also stated that the enemy's loss, according to information obtained from reliable sources, was 44 killed, among whom was General Oppermann, and 100 wounded, among whom was General Chris Botha.

It was semi-officially announced in Paris that the French Ambassadors had waited on the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in the different countries to which they were accredited to inform them verbally of the conditions on which the measures taken by the French Government against the Government of the Sultan were to be carried out. The Paris "Temps" stated that all the claims originally put forward by M. Constans had been practically settled, but that no reply had yet been given to the four points of M. Bapst's note of last Monday.

The Rev. Canon Gore was appointed Bishop of Worcester in succession to the Right Rev. Dr. Perowne, resigned.

FRIDAY, November 8.—Mr. L. Courtney, presiding at a meeting in London of the South African Conciliation Committee, said he believed that not a few in this country—enough to turn the scale in the balance of popular judgment—were beginning to ask whether there was not some better way of ending the war than that along which they had been led. To that enquiry they replied to-day in the words which were on their lips when that Committee was formed—that an escape was to be found in conciliation and in conciliation alone. The path was open for reconciliation if the right temper was shown and the right men were appointed. By negotiation, by agreement, we must bring about a settlement if a settlement was to stand. Sir R. T. Reid, M.P., in moving a resolution expressing the conviction that the prolongation of hostilities and the continued expenditure of blood and money were due to the demand for the unconditional surrender of the Boers, and that peace could only be secured by a recognition of their right to self-government, said the broad aims they ought to have in mind were to seek for a basis of consent, and to eliminate, as far as possible, military armaments from the whole of South Africa. He was convinced that until Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner were obliged to stand aside it was idle for them to look forward to any permanent rest or peace in South Africa. A resolution was carried unanimously protesting against the continuance of the concentration camps in unhealthy districts of South Africa and against the application of martial law to Cape Colony.

The French Government announced that the Porte had just made known that it had decided to give satisfaction to the demands of France, and that M. Delcasse had replied that as soon as the order of the Sultan ratifying the decision

of the Porte had been communicated the French naval division would quit Mytilene.

SATURDAY, November 9.—The King's birthday was celebrated throughout the country and the Empire. The title of Prince of Wales was conferred upon the Duke of Cornwall and York. The list of birthday honours contained no peerages.

The administration of the new North-West Frontier Province was inaugurated at Peshawar.

Speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Salisbury said he thought it matter for congratulation that this country had found, on the whole, kindly feeling and a correct attitude on the part of the Great Powers. A slight cloud had during the past few weeks settled over the eastern end of the Mediterranean, but, as everybody knew, that cloud had now passed away. As to the war, he deprecated the spirit of pessimism which manifested itself in public expressions of opinion. He saw no cause for them. It was true that a conclusion had not been reached so rapidly as many people hoped, but that was because they had not rightly considered the type of warfare in which we were engaged. Guerilla warfare must be conducted and terminated on its own laws, and in every modern instance it had been brought to a close only by prolonged and steady effort. There would be cause for discouragement if there were no grounds for believing that we were making progress; but he was able to say that, in the judgment of those who had the best opportunities of knowing what was the real drift of events, we were making, week by week, sure and substantial progress. He denied that the Government had in any degree neglected their duty, either in meeting the demands of the generals on the spot or in making other preparations; but it was impossible for them to defend themselves against vague vituperation and indefinite charges. The position of the Government with regard to the future settlement was unchanged. They desired to see South Africa enjoying peace and civil rights, with self-government as soon as that could be granted; but they held that to concede independence to the Boers would be inconsistent with our own security; and he believed that the dogged determination of the people of this country to bring about a settlement in South Africa which would prevent a recurrence of the present troubles was absolutely unshaken and unchanged.

MONDAY, November 11.—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, speaking in Aberdeenshire, said that the war must be prosecuted to a successful issue, but what was of greatest concern was the settlement after hostilities had ceased. The restoration of Boer independence was out of the question, and he advocated independent self-government under British supremacy.

The flag was again hoisted over the French Embassy in Constantinople. The Constantinople correspondent of the "Times" stated that the Mussulman population felt acutely humiliations like the French demonstration at Mytilene.

TUESDAY, November 12.—Sir Robert Reid, M.P., speaking at Market Harborough, advised Liberals not to pay too much attention to rumours of what one gentleman or another was going to do. The Liberal members of Parliament had unanimously elected Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as their leader, and they were determined to support him and make their vote on that occasion good. The country was now confronted with a grave crisis. We did not know much about our position in South Africa, but we knew enough to make us serious. What would be the condition of this country financially at the end of two or three years more of this kind of business? We ought now to offer the Boers self-government at an early and fixed date and in the meantime give them a share in the administration of their country, we ought to offer them a complete amnesty for all fair acts of war, and we ought to assist them to re-stock their farms. But until Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner were obliged to stand aside there was no prospect of permanent peace in South Africa.

Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., opened a debate at the Constitutional Club, London, on future Unionist policy. He did not speak at any length on the war, remarking that he "did not wish to go on nagging at the Government." After the war, he urged, the policy of the Conservative party must be one of retrenchment and domestic reform. After a time of lavish expenditure there would have to come a period of careful and almost penurious thrift. After years of pride and pomp must follow years of sobriety and restraint. They must scrutinise and restrain their unproductive expenditure, and, on the other hand, they must train and develop the skill and intelligence of the people.

Lord Kitchener, in a telegram of Monday, said that since November 4 the columns had reported 63 Boers killed, 105 wounded, 104 prisoners, and 45 surrenders, with the capture of 84 rifles, 7,270 rounds of ammunition, 37 wagons, 280 horses, and 3,380 cattle. In the north-eastern part of the Orange River Colony Boers had recently been collecting under De Wet, and columns were now moving to disperse them. In Cape Colony Maritz attacked Piquetberg on November 7, but was easily repulsed. The "Times" Correspondent at Middelburg discussed the situation in Cape Colony, and while of opinion that it had been greatly improved by the vigorous measures of General French, said that more horses and greater mobility on the part of the columns were needed before the roving bands of Boers and rebels could be effectually hunted down.

WEDNESDAY, November 13.—A Cape Town telegram stated: The following are the facts relating to Miss Hobhouse's enforced return home. She arrived here on the 27th ult. in the Avondale Castle, and was refused permission to land and requested to return to England by the Carisbrooke Castle on the 30th. Miss Hobhouse declined to do so and remained on board the Avondale Castle, but as that vessel was remaining here and was proceeding a week afterwards to Mossel Bay to discharge, it was considered undesirable that Miss Hobhouse should remain on board. So, as she still declined to sail in the Carisbrooke Castle or go on board the hospital ship Roslin Castle, she was removed to the latter and sailed for England on the 1st inst. She was permitted to see her lady friends while on board the Avondale Castle.

Speaking at Bristol, Mr. Edmund Robertson said:—The plain truth was that Lord Salisbury was no more fitted to be Prime Minister at a time like this than his colleague the Duke of Devonshire was to be Education Minister at any time. In days when Kings and Emperors were of greater political importance than they were now it was sometimes deemed necessary by apprehensive countries, when a Monarch died, to keep his death for a time secret from his subjects. Something of this sort had happened in the case of Lord Salisbury. All the interests, personal and political and economical, which were bound up in the continuance of the present regime would strive in vain to keep from the knowledge of the people the fact that at the present crisis they no longer had a Prime Minister. He spoke without bitterness when he said that Lord Salisbury would best consult his country's Imperial interests and best secure his own historical reputation by resigning his commission into the hands of the King. This would at once bring about that change of administration without which we could not escape from our present imbroglio. The removal of an administration which had been a disastrous failure was the first thing necessary. Many men in both political parties had bethought themselves of an interim administration, a business Government, a Ministry of Affairs drawn from all sections, bound to none, relieved from any duty of legislation, and charged alone to settle the dangerous problem of South Africa. He did not know if it were possible, but he would be disappointed if they did not hear more of it in the not distant future.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

MR. W. S. CAINE AND THE "ECONOMIC DRAIN."

TO THE EDITOR OF "INDIA."

SIR,—In your issue of yesterday (Nov. 1) you quote from the last "debate on the Indian Budget" (August 16, 1901) what you characterise as "a somewhat significant passage." If you had not expressly said that you "quote from the corrected report in the authorised 'Parliamentary Debates'," one might have suspected some mistake in the citation—as, in fact, some did when the passage first appeared in the "Times" report. You have dealt with the matter conclusively so far as concerns Lord George Hamilton. But now what of Mr. Caine's share in the discussion? Mr. Caine has for many years borne himself as a great "friend of India." He has visited India several times; he has written a book on his experiences; he has attended the Congress as a delegate from the British Committee; he has been acclaimed throughout India as the champion of India in the House of Commons; he has been specially named in the devotions of priests and pundits at Benares. And yet, if I understand aright the passage you quote, he admitted, in answer to Lord George Hamilton's direct appeal, that he did "not at all" hold the view that the poverty of that very poor country, India, "is annually increased by that yearly drain caused by an excess of exports over imports." And when Lord George Hamilton put it to him whether he had not stated the allegation fairly enough, Mr. Caine confirmed his previous disclaimer by saying the allegation "is hardly worth answering." That is to say, Mr. Caine, the "Member for India," the devoted friend of India, the ex-delegate of the British Committee to the Congress, deliberately and explicitly repudiates, not without a suggestion of contempt, the fundamental contention to which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has devoted his best energies for more than a generation.

I am not, and never have been, connected with the Congress, or even with the British Committee of the Congress, in any official capacity whatever, but I have taken, and I may say manifested, some intimate and prolonged interest in Indian affairs in the simple way of civic duty. I confess, therefore, that I am rather startled at what appears, so far as I can judge, to be a profound rift—chasm—abyss of separation between the foremost champion of India in this country outside Parliament—the most honoured and trusted Indian of his day and generation—

and the member of Parliament to whom India, since the last General Election, has looked more than to any other for the championship of her cause on the floor of the House of Commons. Further, I know that I speak for not a few other British friends of India, who regard the cause of educated India as the cause also of Great Britain. The point was canvassed on the report of the debate, but it seemed that there must be some stupid blunder, and the matter lay in abeyance; but "the corrected report" demands attention. I venture to suggest, therefore, that some explanation seems to be urgently necessary. Either Mr. Caine does or does not in fact agree with Mr. Naoroji. If he agrees (in spite of appearances), well and good. If he disagrees, then he may be able to show that Mr. Naoroji is mistaken; and in that case Mr. Naoroji will no doubt acknowledge his error frankly. But, however this may be, we ought to know clearly where we are. In a word, what is the position of Mr. Caine?—I am, yours etc.,

A. F. MURISON.

The Athenæum Club, Nov. 2, 1901.

MR. DUTT ON LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "INDIA."

Sir,—Please allow me space to explain that the word "vast" in my letter on p. 212 is an obvious misprint for "best."

Now that I am writing I should like to point out where I don't altogether agree with Mr. Dutt, and think he is likely to mislead an audience with no experience of India. He says, for instance, that "deep ploughing would be injurious to Indian cultivation"; and I think that is much too broad a statement. I should have said that deep ploughing would often be injurious, but that deep cultivation without turning over the soil—a very different thing—would often be most beneficial in saving crops from the effects of drought. Then when he says that we should "teach the Indian rayat to make cheaper manure," I should have been inclined to say, "teach him also to make (and economise) manure by stall-feeding a few good beasts, and not to waste it by driving a lot of cattle many miles a day to imaginary pastures where they often die of starvation, and the little poor manure they yield is wasted on the way." I would almost say, "teach him to kill them when in good condition," rather than allow them to die a lingering death by starvation.

As I said in my last, it is wrong and misleading to say that the assessment in Madras often approximates to the "economic rent." True, I have myself known considerable tracts of land which were regularly cultivated in a sort of way, but which, I feel sure, would never repay the actual cost of cultivation as calculated by the Settlement Department, and where an assessment of even 4 as. an acre (not an uncommon rate for such land), represents, perhaps, even more than the whole "economic" rent; but what of that? people have many other reasons for holding land than mere money profit, and in Madras the rayat can give it up whenever he likes.

Then again, when Mr. Dutt says that "fresh settlements are being CONTINUALLY made in different parts of India," so that "neither the landlord nor the tenant knows what the State demand will be after each new settlement" his probably very ignorant audience would be apt to imagine that each INDIVIDUAL'S settlement was being revised every year or so: it would certainly not occur to them (unless they were told) that, in Madras at any rate, such settlements are only revised ONCE IN A GENERATION of 30 years. Consequently, I do not believe it is true that the revision of assessment every 30 years on fixed and generally well-known principles "deadens agricultural energy or prevents agricultural improvement."

Another gentleman on the same page (215) triumphantly asks "if the climate of India has changed since 1770," and thinks he has disposed of Lord George Hamilton by that poser. But in fact it is almost certain that the climate of India has changed most materially since 1770; just as Mr. Dutt shows it has been changed (in the opposite direction) at Utakamand by the planting of trees, in so short a period as 15 years.—Yours, etc.,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

November 5.

BIRTHDAY HONOURS.

Among the Birthday honours announced last Saturday were the following:—

Sir John W. Bonser, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Ceylon, becomes a Privy Councillor.

Mr. G. G. Arbuthnot (of Madras), and Mr. Archibald Campbell Lawrie (on retirement as Senior Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court, Ceylon), are knighted.

Mr. Clinton Dawkins becomes a Companion of the Bath.

Mr. Charles Edward Ducat Pennycuick (on retirement as Treasurer of the island of Ceylon) becomes C.M.G.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following promotion in, and appointments to, the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.

TO BE KNIGHTS COMMANDERS.

James John Digges La Touche, Esq., C.S.I., Indian Civil Service.

His Highness Raja Surindar Bikram Prakash Bahadur, of Sirmur.

Sultan Ahmad bin Fadthl, of Lahej.

TO BE COMPANIONS.

Stanley Ismay, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

David Thomas Roberts, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

James Wilson, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Robert Burton Buckley, Esq., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Public Works Department.

Arthur Frederick Cox, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Charles Gerwien Bayne, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following promotions in, and appointments to, the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire:

TO BE KNIGHTS GRAND COMMANDERS.

General Sir Arthur Power Palmer, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India.

His Highness Maharao Sir Kesri Singh Bahadur, of Sirohi in Rajputana, K.C.S.I.

TO BE KNIGHTS COMMANDERS.

Nawab Shahbaz Khan, Bugti, of Baluchistan.

James George Scott, Esq., C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner in Burma.

Raja Jang Bahadur Khan, of Nanpara, in the Bahraich District of Oudh, C.I.E.

TO BE COMPANIONS.

Thomas Conlan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for making Laws and Regulations.

Sidney Preston, Esq., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch.

Murray Hammick, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Alexander Pedler, Esq., F.R.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Richard Amphlett Lamb, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

William Stevenson Mayer, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Alexander Lauzun Pendock Tucker, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Diwan Bahadur Kanchi Krishnaswami Rao, Diwan of the Travancore State.

William Leathem Harvey, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Clibborn, Indian Staff Corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Wingate, Indian Staff Corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Hart Desmond Gimlette, M.D., Indian Medical Service.

Louis S. Moss, Esq., Agent and Manager of the Madras Railway Company.

Arthur Henry Wallis, Esq., Calcutta.

Alexander Johnstone Dunlop, Esq., Senior Member, Board of Revenue, his Highness the Nizam's Government.

George Herbert Dacres Walker, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department, General Branch.

Major Alexander Fleetwood Pinhey, Indian Staff Corps.

Rai Bahadur Nanak Chand, Minister of the Indore State.

Spencer Harcourt Butler, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Captain Frank Cooke Webb Ware, Indian Staff Corps.

Honorary Major Thomas Henry Hill, lately Senior Assistant-Surgeon, Indian Subordinate Medical Department.

Rai Bahadur Radhika Prasanna Mukharji, lately Inspector of Schools in Bengal.

KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE IN INDIA.

The King has been pleased to approve of the grant of the Gold Medal to the following:

Shankar Madho Chitnavis, Esq., Deputy-Commissioner, Central Provinces.

Major Herbert Edward Deane, R.A.M.C.

Dhanjibhai Fakirji Commodore, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E.

Major Thomas Edward Dyson, M.B., C.M., Indian Medical Service.

Mrs. E. J. Firth, of Madras.

N. S. Glazebrook, Esq., J.P., of Bombay.

Sidney Hutton Cooper Hutchinson, Esq., A.M.I.C.E., Superintendent of Telegraphs.

Colonel Samuel Swinton Jacob, C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps.

Rai Bahadur Kamaleshwari Pershad Singh of Monghyr, Bengal.

Harrington Verney Lovett, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Herbert Frederick Mayes, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Indian Civil Service.

Lieutenant-Colonel James M'Cloghry, F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service.

Sardar Khan Bahadur Mir Abdul Ali, J.P., Bombay.

William Florey Noyce, Esq., Extra Assistant Commissioner and Assistant Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Burma.

Robert Barton Stewart, Esq., Indian Civil Service.

Captain Edmund Wilkinson, F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service.

THE INDIAN FAMINE UNION'S MEMORIAL.

FURTHER OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE "SPEAKER."

The Indian Famine Union, in a memorial about to be presented to Lord George Hamilton, offers suggestions for checking future famines. Of these the chief is a request for—

> a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a limited number of selected villages in each of the provinces which have been afflicted by famine. It is suggested that in each province the local administration should select typical villages, and appoint suitable persons to make a complete enquiry into their

condition, ascertaining the exact financial position of each cultivator, with the history and causes of his difficulties. Experiments in the management of different villages might then be made, and with the knowledge thus gained a scheme for dealing with similar villages should be devised. This investigation is required to supplement those which were made prior to the great famines of 1897 and 1900. Among the signatories to the memorial are the Archbishops of Canterbury, Westminster, and Armagh, Lord Ripon, Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Courtney, and a very large number of members of Parliament.—(November 2.)

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW."

A letter has been addressed by Mr. Leonard Courtney, chairman, and Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, joint hon.-secs. of this body, to Lord George Hamilton, praying him to institute a famine commission of an altogether new description. The memorialists recognise fully the excellent work done by previous Famine Commissions, and also the earnestness with which the Government of India has sought to perform the stupendous task of feeding millions of starving sufferers scattered over vast areas, but they insist that something has yet to be done, and that it would be well for the Government of India to appoint a fresh Commission whose work it would be to institute a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of "a limited number of selected villages" in each of the provinces which have been afflicted by famine. These villages might be selected by the local administration, and suitable persons, including officials and non-officials, European and Indian, should be appointed to ascertain the exact financial position of each cultivator with the history and causes of his difficulties. In other words, the executive of the Indian Famine Union desires to get at the root of India's distress, and we think the object most praiseworthy, indeed necessary, if our rule in India is to be lifted out of the rut of blind chance and perfunctory routine. Why do famines recur? We get a thousand different explanations, or rather assertions, in regard to the causes, and some yet maintain that they are entirely the fault of the cultivator's improvidence. That cannot be, no people are miserable wholly by their own fault, least of all a people governed from above, whose fate hangs upon the fiat of their overlords. The truth is, our administration of India has been haphazard, burdens have been put upon the people from above without due investigation into their capacity to bear what was laid upon them; "improvements" of all descriptions have been driven forward by the help of capital drawn from England, at high rates of interest, and no one has stopped to enquire whether the people were benefited or hurt by these projects; State expenditure has mounted year after year without intermission since the British Government took over the administration from the East India Company, and the official who spent money and imposed the taxes rarely or ever paused to enquire into the condition of the people who found it. A Commission such as the memorialists of the Indian Famine Union pray for would, if it faithfully did its duty, put England in possession of vital facts. Its work would represent a stocktaking which, when accomplished, would enable us to understand whether we are doing our best to destroy the Indian Empire by our thoughtless waste and ever-increasing demands upon the people, or whether healing remedies could be applied without vitally altering our attitude towards the communities under our sway. There is, it will be seen, nothing whatever in the nature of party politics in this demand. It is purely an economic one. The Union—and, if it were wise, the nation would back it up—wants to know the truth, and we trust Lord George Hamilton will see his way to meet its request.—(November 2.)

THE "SUNDAY SCHOOL CHRONICLE."

We cordially support the memorial which has been prepared by the Indian Famine Union for presentation to the Secretary of State, and signed by a large number of representative men and women. While recognising the efforts of the present Government and its predecessors to prevent the periodic famines of India, the document urges a detailed enquiry into the economic conditions of the famine areas. Such enquiries have, in times past, led to beneficial legislation, as, for example, the Dekkhan Riots Commission, which led to the Relief Act of 1879. But the information now in official hands belongs to a period before the great famines of 1897 and 1900, and was compiled with no definite famine questions in view. Whatever the expense of the enquiry (and it need not be heavy) it will be amply justified by the increased happiness and well-being of myriads, and saved a hundred times over in the enlarged prosperity of India. This is no party question, but one of deep scientific interest, and what is far more compelling, one of simple humanity and of wise administration. It is our hope that the Secretary of State will give the matter no merely official approval, but will take up the urgent problem with the enthusiasm that brings immediate and practical results.—(November 7.)

THE "ABERDEEN FREE PRESS."

Sir William Wedderburn, although no longer in Parliament, is unflagging in his efforts to promote the interests of the Indian people. He has taken a prominent part in promoting a memorial to the Secretary of State for India in favour of detailed local enquiries as to the best means of preventing famine. The memorialists point out that what is beneficial in one area may be useless and even mischievous elsewhere. Their request, therefore, is that the Government should cause a detailed enquiry to be made into the economic condition of a number of selected Indian villages in each of the provinces which have been afflicted by famine. The memorial is signed on behalf of the Indian Famine Union by Mr. Leonard Courtney, as chairman, and by Sir William Wedderburn and the other honorary secretaries. Appended to it also are the names of many other distinguished men—peers, bishops, members of Parliament of all parties, ex-Indian officials, University authorities, and heads of municipalities. Among those who have signed it in the north are the Earl of Aberdeen, the Principal of Aberdeen University, and Mr. D. V. Pirie, M.P.—(November 2.)

THE "IRISH TIMES" (DUBLIN).

The Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Indian Famine Union, whose appeal appears in another portion of this issue, have forwarded to us a copy of the memorial which is shortly to be presented to the Secretary of State for India. The Indian Famine Union movement, which is of a purely scientific character, and which is unconnected with party politics in every way, is most influentially supported. The Union desire to aid and support the Government of India in their efforts to deal with a great national calamity. In the beginning of this year a preliminary conference of gentlemen having special experience of Indian affairs was held in London, in order to lay the foundation of an organisation, the purpose of which should be the investigation of the economic causes of famine in India, with a view to promote possible means of prevention. At this meeting it was decided to form a National Union, which should co-operate with the Government, and it was further decided that the Government should be petitioned to authorise a detailed enquiry, to be carried on in selected typical villages in each of the provinces of India affected by the famine. The Indian Famine Union make their own position absolutely clear. They desire to embarrass the Government in no way. They readily acknowledge the excellent and wide-reaching efforts of the Government of India in dealing with a calamity which at one period threatened the extinction of a large proportion of our fellow-subjects. The Indian Famine Union are not concerned to enquire into the methods of famine relief; these they believe to have been brought "to the highest point of efficiency." But, on the principle that prevention is better than cure, the Union are of the opinion that in "the question of famine prevention," and in the collection of facts and the maturing of practical suggestions, their offer of help will be welcomed by the hard-worked officials in India, whose time is always fully occupied by the current duties of administration. The Indian Famine Union are to be congratulated on having taken this line. Individual effort is at all times of value to the authorities. When they are assured that an offer of help is tendered, with no view either to embarrass them or to upset the machinery of the administration, their reception of it is likely to be favourable. The Government of India, at a period of unusual strain and anxiety, successfully fed and relieved millions of starving sufferers, scattered over vast areas. That a widespread famine was early taken in hand and fought doggedly step by step until the danger had been overcome is a matter for thankfulness. Despite the energy of the Government of India, however, and aided though they were by great sums of money subscribed by a generous public, many thousands of the famine-stricken Natives died. Looking at the famine from the financial standpoint—for the Indian Treasury for a time was severely crippled through having to find funds for the purposes of relief works—it is clear that the drain upon the country's resources was great. If any means could be devised to prevent a famine, or at the least to come to the help of the Native population at the first signs of distress, the benefit to the nation would be great and twofold. The Indian Treasury in the first place would be a distinct gainer, and Great Britain in the second place would give the world practical proof of her humanity in dealing with her Native subjects. The problem of checking famine in India is one that requires careful consideration. No movement which did not embrace further special knowledge of the different circumstances of the territories in which famine raged, could hope to be successful. It is conceivable that a scheme which might benefit one area might be useless and even mischievous in another district. To meet the difficulty, the Indian Famine Union suggest that a detailed enquiry should be made, which enquiry should proceed on certain lines. When the economic record of the villages and areas dealt with is complete, officials "of proved capacity and discretion" should be entrusted with the administration of the law. Theoretically such a plan might do. Since, however, the Union furnishes us with no data—if we accept the rather curt reference to the labours of the Dekkhan Riots Commission, which led to the Dekkhan Ryots Relief Act of 1879—it will be no matter for surprise if the suggestion is received with caution. In dealing with the Oriental, we must above all things avoid raising hopes in his breast which are not likely to be realised. The aim of the Union is too comprehensive and too important a one to be destroyed for the want of a little patience or for the want of thoroughness in the early stages of the movement. If fresh enquiries regarding the economic condition of the agriculturists of India are necessary in order to determine the economic condition of the cultivators with reference to their present power of resistance, these enquiries can only be conducted on lines laid down by the Government of India.—(November 2.)

THE "BRADFORD OBSERVER."

To much that is merely tinsel and meretricious in the conventional idea of "an Imperial race" a memorial to be presented to Lord George Hamilton on behalf of the Indian Famine Union affords a notable contrast. The memorial embodies a demand for an enquiry, under the direction of the various local governments, into the economic condition of a number of typical villages in the famine areas. It is admitted that in the light of past experience the system of famine relief is being brought to the highest point of efficiency. But the question of famine prevention still remains.

It is, in fact, almost unexplored. The Indian Government, in a series of enquiries having no direct bearing upon famine prevention, have collected a considerable amount of information which statesman and critic may collect with infinite pains from Blue-books long out of date. A Commission to examine the system of famine relief was appointed only in December last, and its enquiry extended incidentally to some matters, such as land assessments, having an important bearing upon famine prevention. But what the Famine Union are pressing upon the Government is that the whole question of famine prevention shall be taken up and scientifically examined in the light of evidence collected on the spot by competent investigators. What it is desirable to ascertain is the economic condition of the cultivators with reference to their present power of resisting the attacks of famine. How can they be fortified against the next drought? To answer this question it is necessary to know the history and the causes of their difficulties. "When the economic record of these villages is complete, approved experiments in their management might be entrusted to administrators of proved capacity and discretion. Different groups of villages will doubtless be found to require different treatment; and the remedies, administrative and legislative, found efficacious in the typical villages could be afterwards cautiously extended to the groups existing under similar economic conditions." Humanity alone is sufficient to commend such an attempt as the Famine Union desire. But the proposal is supported by the soundest principles of policy and finance. The most elementary foresight demands that the Indian Government should endeavour to safeguard itself against the necessity of squandering future millions in famine relief, with nothing better to show for the expenditure than a terribly depleted and impoverished population. The memorial to be presented to the Indian Secretary is most influentially supported. Mr. Leonard Courtney, chairman of the Union, and the joint hon. secretaries (Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree), are backed by a large number of signatories representative of important classes throughout the country. Without distinction of party or creed, peers of the realm, members of Parliament, Archbishops, bishops, clergy, and ministers of all denominations, men and women distinguished in education, literature, and science, mayors of municipalities, and chairmen of chambers of commerce accord their support. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the memorial is of the nature of a national appeal. The event is the more significant because there have lately been evidences of a tendency to withdraw Indian affairs from the control of Parliament, to scout public opinion, and to magnify the authority of the Indian bureaucracy. It is not without significance that the report of the Commission to which allusion has already been made, though it was submitted to the Indian Government in May last, has not yet been published in this country. The report is known to have recommended important reforms, long urged in vain by competent authorities on Indian affairs, and its non-publication has been the subject of frequent but hitherto ineffectual protest. The memorial about to be presented to Lord George Hamilton is not, of course, to be regarded as in any way intended to reflect this feeling. But it affords, nevertheless, a gratifying proof that the people of this country are still alive to the purely representative character of their Ministers, whether at home or abroad; that they claim the responsibilities, and are not content with the empty name of "an Imperial race."—(November 2.)

THE "NOTTINGHAM EXPRESS."

The memorial from the Indian Famine Union addressed to the Secretary of State, which has just been published, deserves the closest consideration. It prays for an investigation of the economic condition in selected Indian villages, with a view to ascertain the causes of famine, and to carry into operation such remedies as the investigators may suggest. The few English newspapers which give any attention to Indian affairs are calling on the Lord Mayor to re-open his Famine Fund, and asking if Lord George Hamilton is going to start upon the proposed enquiry. Famine in India threatens to become chronic, notwithstanding the forecast of the Famine Commission that this season would see the end of it. The prospect as represented in the Viceroy's latest telegrams is anything but reassuring, and the fact that the crops will be short in a part of the Central Provinces, in the Benares district, in the Punjab, and even in Gujarat, "the garden of India," proves that we cannot afford to rest and be hopeful that the worst is over. The friends of India are trusting that Lord Curzon, the most sympathetic as well as the ablest Viceroy of recent years, will make his period of office for ever memorable by instituting a wholesale enquiry into the Indian villages. The Government and the Secretary of State here will be too much engrossed in other troubles to take any vigorous action; but the Viceroy may check the "drain" upon Indian resources, and establish a juster system of taxation and promote works for the permanent uplifting of the poor.—(November 6.)

THE "NEW AGE."

We cordially welcome any agitation tending to the improvement of affairs in India. We are quite aware that the present Government regards any criticism of its proceedings as mischievous, and calculated to make matters worse than they are, but as we happen to consider the present Government as far and away the worst that ever afflicted this country we have no hesitation in declaring that we heartily wish that anything we could say would foster such discontent in India—such intelligent and frankly expressed discontent—as would compel attention. The recently formed Indian Famine Union has adopted a wise course in preparing a memorial for presentation to Lord George Hamilton on the subject of Indian famines. It is monstrous that these famines should be permitted to come and go and nothing done to prevent their recurrence. In a letter accompanying a copy of the memorial which has been sent to us, the hon. secretaries of the Union affirm the Union's appreciation of the energy and success with which the Government have sought to relieve the famine-stricken, and go on to say: "But many feel that, as trustees for India, a heavy responsibility rests upon them to seek out the causes of these recurring calamities, and to co-operate with the administration in promoting means of prevention." That is true, and in the memorial itself a rational proposal is set forth. It is, in brief, "That the Government will be pleased to cause a detailed enquiry to be made into the economic condition of a limited number of selected villages in each of the provinces which have been afflicted by famine." Then it is suggested that "in each province the local administration should select typical villages, and appoint suitable persons, including officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, to make a complete enquiry into their condition, ascertaining the exact financial position of each cultivator, with the history and causes of his difficulties." "We desire to state," the memorial proceeds, "that this movement is of a purely scientific character, that it is unconnected with party politics, and that our wish is to support the Indian Government in its efforts to deal with a great national calamity." The memorial is signed by many representative men of all classes, including Mr. Leonard H. Courtney, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Marquis of Ripon, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Lord Hobhouse, the Lord Kinnaird, Mr. John Burns, M.P., Rev. Canon Barnett, Mr. Bramwell Booth, Dr. John Clifford, Rev. F. B. Meyer, Sir Arthur Arnold, Sir Douglas Fox, and the Countess of Carlisle. We can only add that we wish the movement the most entire success.—(November 7.)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI IN EDINBURGH.

[FROM OUR OWN REPORTER.]

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on Tuesday evening, in the Oddfellows' Hall, Edinburgh, lectured under the auspices of the Young Scots' Society on the "Condition of India." Unfortunately the weather was of the most unpropitious character, but despite this there was a moderately large attendance, including a fair number of ladies. Mr. J. M. Hogge, the president of the Society, occupied the chair.

Mr. NAOROJI, who was cordially received, said he had no complaint to make against any individual official; it was the system of government which unfortunately had begun badly and had continued badly to the present day. India had had foreign invaders in past times, but the invasion came to an end and the plundering came to an end, and the country recuperated in time. There had been from the time the British obtained a political position in India to the present, an incessant, never-ceasing, foreign invasion. The wounds inflicted on them by that foreign invasion were always bleeding, making them more and more weak every year. Not only was their wealth carried away, but their employment was also forcibly taken away from them, and any experience or wisdom that could be taken away and any training was all lost to them, and they were deteriorating and sinking, intellectually, morally, and physically. He was not complaining of the British public except that they were not doing their duty and seeing what their Government was doing with India. (Hear, hear.) The British public had laid down a policy and that policy was everything they could desire, but the Governments to whom the British public had entrusted the destiny of India had betrayed and violated that policy in every possible way. Their complaint was against the system of government introduced into India by the executive and kept up in spite of any policy or any promise made as to how the Indians should be governed. The blame ultimately rested upon the British people because the Government were its agents. (Hear, hear.) It was all very good for the Anglo-Indians interested in the matter to represent a picture of beneficence. What was the result of what they were doing? They were giving India law and order and peace. For what purpose? For three-fourths of the people to be born wretched in peace and order, to live a wretched life in peace and order, and to die miserably in peace and order. (Hear, hear.) Their property was secure—the Government took care that their property was safe, in order that they might carry it away. (Hear, hear.) Was the security of life worth having when millions perished by famine and pestilence and scores of millions lived from year's end to year's end on insufficient food, and, in fact, in starvation? The educated portion of the Indian community considered that in connexion with Britain India would be benefited in several ways, that was to say if Britain did its duty. They were inspired with the idea that the British public had a conscience. The misfortune of India was that while the British public had laid down distinctly what the policy should be, the Government had persistently and knowingly gone against it. Some of the Governors had the courage to acknowledge that,

and as long ago as 1860 no less than five members of the India Office Council laid it down distinctly that the British public were open to the charge of making promises to the ear and breaking them to the heart. Britain was in possession of an Empire the like of which had never existed. They would be glad to be part of the British Empire if they were allowed to be so. It was mostly with Indian blood that the Empire was formed, and entirely with Indian money. He did not know whether there was such a word as gratitude in the English language. (Laughter.) They were told by those who talked without any sense of responsibility that India was conquered by the sword, and must be maintained by the sword. The first premise was wrong. India was conquered with the blood of the Indians not by the sword of the Englishmen. Did those who talked in this way consider what significance there was in their words? Did they mean to tell the Indian people that they had no hope whatever? That their only hope was rebellion? Those who talked in this manner were the worst foes of England. (Applause.) What was happening now was this. India had been so greatly exhausted that they were the poorest people on the face of the earth. They had a great military service put upon their back and a great civil service. What for? Lord Kimberley acknowledged that it was for maintaining the British power in India. It was for British purposes primarily, and the real object of inflicting upon India a heavy European army and civil service was the British desire to maintain their power in the East. (Hear, hear.) India could supply England with an army powerful enough to oppose any aggression, and, he would not hesitate to say, to send back Russia to St. Petersburg. (Applause.) But Britain would not trust them It was very nice of Lord Kimberley to say they would maintain this army and this civil service for the purpose of maintaining British power, but he should have gone further and have said that the British people were bound to pay for it if it was for their interest. (Applause.) The people of India were willing to become partners in the matter as they were told they were partners in the Empire, but let a portion of the expenditure be paid by the British people. (Applause.) Did the British really gain the object they had in view? Did they think they could hold the Indian Empire by 70,000 or 80,000 European soldiers and their civil service? Lord Roberts said: "Let the army be much larger than it is now, and even if it were perfection your hold can depend only on the contentment of the people." The Indian people were willing to hold to the connexion and it would be the fault of the British if the Indians were driven to revolt. Take the civil service. Supposing that the whole people of India made up their mind that British rule should not continue, where would these civilians be? Each of them was surrounded by thousands of Indians and the whole of them would be swept away in no time. He spoke thus freely because he wished that his people might attain to the position of British citizenship. In 1833 an Act was passed laying down the foundation of the policy upon which British India was to be governed. That foundation was that Indians were to be treated in every matter as if they were British citizens, without any distinction of race, creed or colour. Then came the Mutiny of 1858. That Mutiny was entirely owing to the mismanagement of the Government. (Hear, hear.) It was not a revolt of the people. Notwithstanding that it was with Indian blood that British power was regained, India was made to pay every farthing of the expense. That was the reward the Indians got for not joining the mutineers. The Mutiny was suppressed, and a proclamation was made under which they were promised to be freely and impartially admitted to Government service. The subsequent Governments had acted dishonourably and unjustly. But his faith in the British people held him hoping against every kind of discouragement that the British people would some day do their duty towards the Indian people and go back to the policy they themselves had laid down for the past three-quarters of a century. (Applause.) He wanted to explain the process by which the exploitation was going on. India had to find every year something like 200 to 250 millions of rupees to give to Britain before she was given a single ounce of her own produce for herself. A portion of this would be saved and all their pensions also would go clean out of the country, while the people were penniless. They had no means of developing their own resources or taking advantage of that peace which was given to them, and the British did not send a farthing of their own earnings. They took away Indian capital and brought part of it back as British capital, exploited the country with it, and took away the produce, and the result was that every year India must produce something like 30 to 40 millions worth of produce to give up to the British to take to their own country. If they went on bleeding India like that, how must it end? The material condition of the Indians was the worst in the world. Famines were becoming more frequent. They were told the Government could not help droughts, but they never had famines in this country as they had means to buy food from every part of the world. India produced enough food for herself, but so large a portion was exported that they suffered from famine. They were told they were governed constitutionally, and that they had a share in passing the laws made by the legislative councils. Nothing could be more delusive. (Hear, hear.) In these councils there was a complete overwhelming majority of the Government with which they could not contend in any way. There were a few Indians, but their only business was to help in taxing the people. If they opposed taxation they were told they thought the government could be carried on without taxation. The only reason they opposed taxation was that they wanted to know how the taxes were to be spent. The Government might spend India's money as they liked. The Indians had no voice in the matter. That was the British citizenship they were enjoying! They were told they were worse off under their old Native rulers and that they would be worse off if they were under Russia. Was that a reason why British rule should be bad? Because their own rulers were despots, did that justify British despotism, which was of a far worse character, because it impoverished them day by day and carried away an amount of plunder no country could withstand? After alluding to the fact that in face of the doctrine that Britain held India to keep her markets, hardly 30 millions of goods was sent from England to India out of 300 hundred millions, the lecturer concluded with an appeal to his audience as Scotsmen and brothers to act up to their instincts of fair play, and to fulfil their promises conscientiously in which case both they and India would be blessed. If not, the disaster must come both to Britain and to India. (Loud applause.)

The lecturer was given a hearty vote of thanks for his address.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI IN LIVERPOOL.

A public conference under the auspices of the Liverpool Peace Society, held on November 1, at the Common Hall, Hackins-hey, under the chairmanship of Mr. Thomas Snape, was addressed by Mr. D. Naoroji on the subject of "India and Militarism." India, said Mr. Naoroji, would soon become a burning question. The policy of Imperial expansion involved risk of Imperial explosion. He blamed not individual officials but the system. The system did not vary whichever party was in power. English public opinion was sound enough, but that opinion was fed upon the romance of our connexion with the dependency. The reality was quite different. The British occupation of India was a perpetual foreign invasion. One set of official or military invaders was being continually succeeded by another, and all did their best to take as much out of the country as they could. The difference between the British invaders and those who had preceded them was that, while the others came frankly as invaders, the British came as "benefactors." (Laughter.) Not only was India drained of between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000 of its wealth every year, but its Natives were deprived of almost all really responsible public positions and employment. They were treated as helots. As a result their character was deteriorating. Discussing the "forward policy," Mr. Naoroji, on the authority of a Parliamentary Return obtained by Mr. Morley, said that the British had waged one hundred and ten wars beyond the frontiers in pursuance of an Imperial policy dictated solely by the fact that India was the only part of the Empire which had an extensive frontier adjoining the possessions of a great European Power. Colonel Hanna, an Indian officer of experience, had shown that between 1878 and 1896 the "forward policy" cost 714,000,000 of rupees. All this time scores of millions of Natives went all the year round without enough food to eat, and in bad years millions perished from famine. Not only was India saddled with the cost of purely Imperial enterprises, but she had to pay the ordinary charges for troops of the Indian Army when employed in wars elsewhere, as in Abyssinia and the Soudan. The taxation of India, 50 per cent. higher in proportion to ability to bear it than that of this country, was breeding deep discontent. Observant Anglo-Indians warned us that Lord Roberts himself admitted that, even if the Indian Army were perfect, "our strength must rest on the firm basis of a united and contented India." That firm basis we were doing our best to destroy. British dominion in India rested not on force—a delusion mischievous to us and exasperating to Indians—but on its utility.

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Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.
Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

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